

AN
ESSAY,

To Prove

The PERPETUAL OBLIGATION
OF THE
National Covenant
OF THE
Church of SCOTLAND:

IN A

Letter from a *Lover* of the *Covenanted Work*
of *Reformation*, to his Correspondent.

Containing an Account

1. Of the Rise and Progress of the NATIONAL COVENANT, with the sundry Shapes and Modes wherein it hath appear'd in this CHURCH.
2. The VIEWS that the Persons concerned had or might have had in the Rise and Progress of it.
3. Arguments to prove its PERPETUAL OBLIGATION.
4. Answers to the Objections against its PERPETUAL OBLIGATION.
5. The USE and IMPROVEMENT which in this present Juncture should be made of this CONTROVERSY.

Together with

A POSTSCRIPT,

Containing

REMARKS on Three Scandalous Letters, subversive of all TRUE RELIGION in the CHURCH, and LOYALTY in the NATION, by an Anonymous Author, industriously handed about, under the Name of ANSWERS to Queries put by the Reverend Mr. Adams, to the Reverend Mr. G---s Minister at T---n.

- 2 Chron. xxiii. 16. And Jehoiada made a Covenant between him, and between all the People, and between the King, that they should be the LORD's People.

Printed in the Year MDCCXXVII.

SCS #8020

Courteous Reader,

LEST the Printer should have made the Price of this ESSAY too high, I have forbore to mark on the Margin the Authorities on which I have narrated Matters of Fact: But I assure you they go on the Credit of *Buchanan, Knox, Calderwood, Spotiswood, Puffendorf*, and sundry others: As also the Acts of Parliament, and General Assemblies of this Church.



A N

E S S A Y,

T O

*Prove the perpetual Obligation
of the National Covenant of
the Church of Scotland, &c.
in a Letter from, &c.*

Sir,

WITHOUT further Apology,
that you may have my Thoughts
on this Subject, which I intend
mainly for my own Exoneration, presum-
ing you understand the Case better than
my self; I shall consider

I. *The Rise and Progress of the Natio-
nal Covenant, with the sundry Shapes and
Modes,*

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Modes, wherein it hath appear'd in this Church.

II. *The Views that the Persons concern'd therein had, or might have had, in the Rise and Progress of it.*

III. *I shall offer some Arguments to prove its perpetual Obligation.*

IV. *Endeavour to answer the several Objections made against it, and its perpetual Obligation.*

Lastly, *Shew, what Use and Improvement, both you, my self, and all others, who love the Protestant reform'd Religion, ought, in this Juncture, to make of it for promoting Godliness.*

First, As to its Rise and Progress, with the fundry Shapes and Modes, wherein it hath appear'd in this Church, I remark, in general, That God, in his favourable Providence, having, toward the End of the first Century, that is, about the Year 89 after the Birth of Christ, when Domitian the Roman Emperor, that cruel Persecutor, exercis'd his Power against the Christians in the Empire, caused many Gospel Preachers and other Christians flee from under his Jurisdiction to the Western British Isles, especially, these belonging to Scotland; they got Shelter there, and thence propagated the Gospel into the Continent; so as, at length,
in

in the Reign of *Donald I.* King of *Scots*, about the Year, 203. The King himself and many of all Ranks received the Christian Faith; and so Christianity became the *National Religion*, and continued in its Purity through a Succession of many Ages under a Presbyterian Government. But at length, as it befel the rest of the Churches in *Europe*; so it happen'd to that of *Scotland*: By Degrees it degenerate into Prelacy and Popish Superstition; tho' by the Favour of Providence, an honest Testimony was kept up, from Time to Time, against that Defection by sundry Persons of eminent Piety and Learning, as, *James Resby*, the *Lallds*, *Paul Craw*, &c. who seal'd the Truth with their Blood.

Thereafter, in the Year 1527, the Lord stirred up *Mr. Patrick Hamilton*, *Mr. George Wiseheart*, *Mr. Walter Mill*, and others, in the Reign of King *James V.* who, with singular Courage and Zeal, preached and profess'd the reform'd Religion, having been instructed by the Writings of *Luther*, *Oecolampadius*, &c. eminent Preachers in *Germany*. About that Time also, the Reformation began in *Switzerland*, *Geneva*, *France* and *England*, by eminent Preachers and others, as *Zuinglius*, *Calvin*, *Cranmer*, &c.

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Thus stood the Case with the Reform'd in *Scotland*, toward the End of the Reign of King *James V.* anno 1539, who caused some of them to be burnt, others banish'd, and others imprison'd; and, by the Instigation of the Bishops and Priests, put a List of a great many more of them into the Hands of *James Hamilton*, a Bastard of the E. of *Arran's*, and constitute him Judge for prosecuting them.

In the Year 1542, the King, through Discontent at the Defeat of the Army he sent to invade *England*, died, and left *Mary* his only lawful Child, an Infant, to succeed him; who, by the Artifices of the Queen Mother, &c. was afterward carried to *France*, and married to the *Dauphin*.

Beaton, Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, and Cardinal, forg'd a Will, as by the King, naming therein himself and three others to be Regents, during the Queen's Minority. But the States of the Kingdom finding out the Deceit, chose *James Earl of Arran*, who, being a weak and unstable Man, was, by the Intrigues of the *Popish* Factions, soon turn'd out of that Dignity, and the Queen Dowager put in his Room; as will appear by and by. The Cardinal carried on the Persecutions against the Reformed,

of the National Covenant, &c. 7

Reformed, particularly, Mr. *Wiseheart*, and other Preachers. It pleas'd God however, in a very convenient Season, to send Mr. *Knox*, Mr. *Willock*, and other eminent Preachers, who spread the light of the Gospel in several Countries and Cities of this Land: And, so soon as they began to be favour'd by many Persons of all Ranks in the Cause of Christ and the Reformation, the Reform'd began to enter into Covenant with God, for promoting Religion, and Associations among themselves, for their mutual Defence therein. And the

First Instance of it was at *Edinburgh*; the Occasion of it was this. The Cardinal, of his own Inclinations, and by the Instigation of the Queen *Dowager*, and other Papists, went on, under the Authority of the Earl of *Arran* Regent, to persecute the Protestants, particularly, he condemn'd Mr. *George Wiseheart*, and caused him be burnt at St. *Andrews*. This stirred up sundry Protestants, some of whom had personal Grudges at the Cardinal, to kill him in his Castle at St. *Andrews*; which they, and others who came to them afterward, held out, till some Troops by the Queen *Dowager's* Procurement, came from *France* to besiege it; whereupon it was surrender'd on Articles, which occasioned

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John Knox's being put, and kept, in the *French Gallies* a considerable Time after. But, an *English Army*, a little afterward, coming to *Scotland*, the *Queen Dowager*, the Regent, and their Party, with the *French Soldiers*, retired to *Stirling*; but, after some Time, made Head again. However, at length, a Peace being concluded between *England* and *France*, the *English* withdrew, and the *Queen Dowager* made away for *Paris*. Some Time after she return'd, and, by Commission from the *Queen* and the *Dauphin* her Husband, was made Regent in the Room of the Earl of *Arran*, who there-upon was created Duke of *Chattleherault*, with a Pension; and so the *Queen Regent*, with her *Popish Counsellors*, proceeded further to persecute the Reform'd, and set up *Popish Superstition* in all Places of the Kingdom. On which the *Protestants* resolv'd to go on in the begun Reformation, and commit themselves and that Work to God. And in Order thereto, they did, on the third Day of *December*, 1557, at *Edinburgh*, solemnly enter into Covenant with God, and Association with one another, as hath been said. It was subscribed by the Earls of *Argile*, *Glencairn*, *Archibald Lord Lorn*, *Erskine of Dun*, &c. The Tenor whereof, follows. *We perceiving, how Satan in his*
Mem-

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of the National Covenant, &c. 9

Members, the Antichrists of our Time, cruelly do rage, seeking to overthrow and destroy the Gospel of Christ and his Congregation, ought, according to our bounden Duty, to strive in our Master's Cause even unto the Death, being certain of the Victory in him: The which our Duty being well consider'd, we do promise before the Majesty of God and his Congregation, That we, (by his Grace) shall, with all Diligence continually apply our whole Power, Substance, and our very Lives to maintain, set forward, and establish the most blessed Word of God, and his Congregation: And shall labour according to our Power, to have faithful Ministers, truly and purely to minister Christ's Gospel and Sacraments to his People: We shall maintain them, nourish them, and defend them, the Congregation of Christ, and every Member thereof, according to our whole Powers, and waging of our Lives, against Satan, and all wicked Power, that doth intend Tyranny or Trouble against the foresaid Congregation: Unto the which holy Word and Congregation, we do join us; and so do forsake and renounce the Congregation, with all the Superstitions, Abominations and Idolatries thereof. And moreover, shall declare our selves manifest

The National
Covenant first
form'd at Edin-
burgh, Anno
1557.

fest Enemies thereto, by this our faithful Promise, before God, testified to this Congregation, by our Subscription at these Presents.

About that Time, the Congregation, as the Protestants were then call'd, not only entertain'd what sound Preachers they could get, and wrote to Mr. *Knox* to come hither, and to *Calvin* to forward him, but also made many other publick Steps for Reformation, appointing the Scriptures to be read, and Prayers in desolate Congregations; and the Town of *Dundee*, I think, was honour'd before any other, to have in it erected the Face of a publick reform'd Church, where *John Willock*, *John Knox* and other eminent Ministers often preach'd and administred the Sacraments; which provok'd the Regent to cause summon all the Preachers to appear before her at *Stirling* on the 10th. of *May*, 1559. And, when the Congregation could not prevail with her to discharge the Summons, they resolv'd to keep the Diet with their Preachers; and accordingly the Protestants of *Angus* and *Merns*, the People of *Dundee*, the Earl of *Glencairn*, with the Protestants of the *West*, &c. met at *Perth* for that End, whither came also *John Willock*; *John Knox* was in the Town before. The Congregation form'd a Camp a little westward
of

of the National Covenant, &c. II
 of St. Johnstoun, and the Queen Regent's
 Army had march'd as far as *Auchterarder*:
 On which an Agreement, consisting of
 fundry Articles, was made; one of which
 was, *That the Congregation should leave St.*
Johnstoun patent to the Regent and all the
Lieges; and that, at her Departure, she should
leave no French Soldiers in it. It was fur-
 ther agreed, *That none should be molested,*
for their being of the reformed Religion.

The Congregation submitted on set Pur-
 pose to stop the Mouths of such as alledg-
 ed they design'd to rebel, and shake off the
 Authority of the King and Queen, tho'
 they generally reckon'd, the Regent would
 not stick to the Articles. Wherefore, be-
 fore their Departure, on the last Day of
 May, Anno 1559. They

Renewed the former Covenant with some
 Alterations in Terms suitable to the Cir-
 cumstances they were then in: 'Tis sub-
 scribed by *Argyle, James Stuart, Robert*
Lord Boyd, Ochiltree, &c. The Tenor where-
 of follows, *The Congregations of the West*
Country, with the Congregations
of Fife, Perth, Dundee, Angus,
Merns and Montrose, being con-
veen'd in the Town of Perth, in
the Name of Jesus Christ, for setting forth
his Glory, understanding nothing more Neces-
sary

The Covenant
 subscrib'd the
 second Time at
 Perth, A 1552.

sary for the same, than to keep a constant Amity, Unity and Fellowship together, according as they are commanded by God, are confederate and become bounden and obliged in the Presence of God, to concur and assist together in doing all Things required of God in his Scripture, that may be to his Glory; and at their whole Powers to destroy and put away all Things that doth Dishonour to his Name, so that God may be truly and purely worshipped. And, in Case that any Trouble be intended against the said Congregation, or any Part or Member thereof, the whole Congregation shall concur, assist and convene together, to the Defence of the same Congregation, or Person troubled; and shall not spare Labours, Goods, Substance, Bodies and Lives, to maintain the Liberty of the whole Congregation, and every Member thereof, against whatsoever Person shall intend the said Trouble for Cause of Religion, or any other Cause depending thereupon, or lay to their Charge under Pretence thereof, altho' it happen to be coloured with any other outward Cause. In Witnessing and Testimony of the which, the whole Congregation aforesaid have ordained and appointed the Noblemen and Persons to subscribe these Presents.

The Queen, the Duke of Chattleherault,
and Monsieur d'Oselle with his French Men
enter'd

enter'd the Town, and, in discharging their Vollies against the Fore-stair of *Patrick Murray*, where many People looked out, they kill'd his Son of 10 or 12 Years of Age; the Father was a zealous Protestant, and a very godly Man; and the Queen Regent being inform'd, said it was a Pity it fell not on the Father. She violat'd all the Articles, which drew off from her Side many Protestant Noblemen and Gentlemen, who afterward join'd heartily with their Brethren in carrying on the Reformation. The Lord *Ruthven*, the Earl of *Rothies*, with their Followers, the train'd Bands of *Dundee* and *St. Andrews*, and many others, met on *Coupar-muir*, and by the Advice of Mr. *James Haliburton* Provost in *Dundee*, encamped on an advantageous Plat of Ground. The Regent, the Duke, and Monsieur *d'Osselle* with their Troops, lay at *Faulkland* some Time, and thence marched towards *St. Andrews*, in Quest of such of the Congregation as they reckoned were there: But finding them ready at *Coupar-Muir*, she made with them an Accomodation for eight Days, and promis'd she should appoint Commissioners in that Time to treat with them of a lasting Peace. But she failing in this, the Congregation agreed, that the Brethren of *Fife*, *Angus*, *Merns*, and *Strathern* should meet

meet at *St. Johnston*, to restore the Protestant Inhabitants to their Houses there, and expel the *French* left by the Regent, contrary to Agreement, in that Town. They accordingly met, and with them the Earl of *Monteith*, the Laird of *Glenorchy*, and sundry others, and execute what they intended. The Common People of their Party, contrary to the Inclination and Orders of their Leaders, destroyed the Abbay of *Scoon*.

The Regent and her *French* Men went on to strengthen their Interest, and persecute the Congregation. The Congregation conven'd about *Edinburgh*, to assist *Leith* against the *French*; but that Town, by the Treachery of some in it, submitted to Monsieur *d'Oselle*. The Lord *Erskine*, Captain of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, declar'd for the Regent and *French*; which oblig'd the Congregation, on Articles not very advantageous to them, to retire to *Stirling*, where they for the third Time

Renew'd their *Covenant* and *Association*, with some Alterations suited to their then Circumstances. It bears Date at *Stirling* the 1st Day of *August*, 1559. It supposes, That they had mainly in View the carrying on the Reformation; but be-
cause

The *Covenant*
renew'd the third
Time at *Stirling*,
1559.

cause a great many underhand Dealings were us'd by the Queen, her Husband, and the *French* Councils in *France*, and the Queen Regent with hers, to divide the Congregation among themselves, the fore-said Bond was agreed to and subscribed, as hath been said.

Thereafter, the Congregation understanding, That the Queen Regent never meant to keep to Articles, nor suffer the Reformation to go on, they found Means to address Queen *Elizabeth* of *England*, and her Council for their Support. They were encourag'd to this, in Regard *England* had carry'd on the Reformation to a considerable Length; and because it was their Interest to hinder the *French* from getting too much Footing in *Scotland*, seeing the Wars between *England* and *France* were carrying on elsewhere. And that the *French* design'd to suppress all that stood for the Liberty of this Nation, was evident, from the Hazard the Earl of *Arran*, the Duke of *Chatleherault's* Son, had been in in *France*, and the Imprisonment of a Brother of his under Age. The Earl escap'd from *France*, came Home, and inform'd his Father: On this he joyn'd the Congregation, and the Lord *James* continu'd to adhere to them, notwithstanding the many Artifices us'd by the

the Regent to divide them ; sometimes on Pretence, That the Duke, and, other Times, the Lord *James*, design'd to usurp the Authority, and dispossess the King, Queen, and Regent ; from which Imputation they both clear'd themselves by Letters to all the three, and to the Lieges, by open Proclamation.

The Regent however carry'd on her Designs against the Reformation as she could, and every Day brought *French* Soldiers, into the Nation, especially into the Town of *Leith*. This brought the Congregation often together, who, at length, at *Edinburgh* the 21st of *October*, set down Articles against her Government ; on which, in Name of the King and Queen, they suspended her from the Administration, caus'd the same to be intimate by sound of Trumpet at the Cross of *Edinburgh* ; and wrote herself a Missive to that Purpose. The Day following they summon'd *Leith* to surrender ; she retir'd to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and so the War went on ; but the Success, for the most Part, was on the *French* Side. Remarkable is the Behaviour of Captain *Alexander Haliburton*, Brother to the Provost of *Dundee*, who with his Followers made a noble Stand against the *French*,
while

of the National Covenant, &c. 17
while pursuing; and he and many of his
Men lost their Lives in the Action.

The Congregation, after this, departed
from *Edinburgh* to *Stirling*, where Mr.
Knox preach'd to them a very encouraging
Sermon. The Regent sent Advertisement
to *France* of these Adventures, desiring the
Duke of *Guise* to come hither; and take
the Honour of the Conquest. On which he
sent the Marquis *d'Elbeuf* and *Martiques*,
with new Troops from thence, and promi-
sed, that himself should follow; which he
indeed intended, but was driven back to
Diep, and all their Transports, with eigh-
teen Companies of Foot lost; the Ship
wherein himself and the other Principals
were, was, however, sav'd, and he acknow-
ledg'd, That G O D fought for *Scotland*.

In the mean Time, the *French* Garrison
continuing in *Leith*, sent many Parties over
to *Fife*, who burnt, slew, and most barba-
rously us'd the Inhabitants. The Congre-
gation defended themselves and their
Friends, as well as they could; and op-
pos'd the *French* marching along the Coast
of *Fife*, with a Design to destroy *St. An-
drews* and *Dundee*. One Thing fell out du-
ring these Adventures, that is very remar-
kable: The Congregation order'd *Andrew
Sands*, a Man of Religion and Courage,

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from

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from the Harbour of *Dundee* with two Ships to *Leith-Road*, where *Martiques* and his Company had arriv'd in two Ships, out of which the Principals had gone to *Leith*, and carried their Trunks and Papers with them before *Sands* came up: But when he and his came up with the *French* Ships at Anchor, he boarded them both, and, in Sight of the *French* in *Leith* and *Fife*, carried them away for *Dundee* Harbour. About that Time Advertisement was given to Monsieur *d'Osselle*, who commanded the *French* in *Fife*, that two Ships descry'd at Sea, were *English*, come to assist the Congregation, and that greater Numbers follow'd; on which he, and his Troops under his Command, retreated by *Stirling* to *Leith*. And, after sundry Turns of Providence, and Intrigues of State between the Queen of *England* and the Congregation, on the 2d of *April*, 1560, an *English* Army enter'd *Scotland*, march'd toward *Leith*, and at length sat down before it, and began the Siege.

The Covenant
renew'd the
fourth Time at
Edinburgh, 1560.

The Congregation being gather'd at *Edinburgh*, did, on the 27th of *April* that Year, renew their former Covenants and Associations to the same Purpose as formerly. But because the Tenor is very long,

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long, and to be seen in *Knox's History*, Page 246, and 247. under the Title of, *The last Band at Leith*, I forbear to record it here.

In the mean Time the Siege went on, and there were sundry Skirmishes between the Besieg'd and the Besiegers, in which sometimes the one, sometimes the other had the Advantage; all the Protestants in the Kingdom favoured the *English*, and all the Papists and Malignants the Regent and the *French*; and both spoke and acted accordingly. The Regent had retired to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, where, before the War ended, she died; and the Lord *Erskine*, the Captain, declared for the Congregation and the *English*.

At Length Monsieur *Rondam* and the Bishop of *Valance* came to Scotland with Commission from the Queen and the King, who had then succeeded to the Crown of *France*; and Sir *William Cecil* and Dr. *Whitton* from the Queen of *England*, who, together with the Congregation, concluded a Peace, a main Article whereof was, *That a Convention of the Estates of this Kingdom should meet at Edinburgh on the 20. July next thereafter*; which did accordingly meet, and *John Knox* preach'd before them with great Success, a Preaching upon some Texts

of the Prophet *Haggai*. The Reform'd having supplicate the Parliament to promote and establish the Reformation, they were ordered to draw up in sundry Heads, what they believ'd and would have profess'd, which they accordingly did; and it was read again and again, and, without any Objection, approv'd; the Bishops said nothing to the contrary; *Athol*, *Somervell* and *Borthwick* said, they would believe as their Fathers believ'd. That Composure consisteth of Twenty five Articles or Heads, and is commonly call'd the *Confession of Faith*. About that Time the first Book of Discipline was compos'd by *Knox* and others, and approv'd and subscrib'd by a great many of all Ranks in the Tolbooth of *Edinburgh*, on the 27. of *January*, *Anno* 1560, tho' some of a licentious Temper, and others, out of Covetousness, who possess'd the Church-Lands, refus'd it, tho' they had hitherto concurred in all the Steps of the Reformation.

The King and Queen refused to ratify the Peace made at *Leith*, and the Proceedings of the last Parliament; and, on the contrary, sent an Ambassador hither to the privy Council, who, by the late Peace at *Leith*, had the Administration, demanding, *That the League with England should*

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be broken, the ancient League with France renewed, and the Bishops and other Churchmen restor'd to their ancient Places. The Council delayed an Answer, till the Parliament should meet in May following. In the mean Time, the Papists made all the Head they could, under the Earl of Huntley and others, set up the *Mafs* where they could, and thought to have disappointed the Meeting of the Parliament, but were disappointed themselves: For the Protestants conven'd at *Edinburgh*, the 7th. of May, 1561, and in the *Tolbooth*, the chief of them sign'd a Supplication to the Council, and others conven'd with them, against Popery, and for Reformation: Which got a good Answer, and the *French* Ambassador was dismissed with a *Negative*, in very strong Terms, to every Demand of his.

The *French* King dying in the *Interim*, and leaving the *Scots* Queen a Widow, without Issue, the Reformation went on; and she, at last, arriv'd in *Scotland*, on the 19th of *August*, 1561. Sundry *French* of Quality, and others, came in her Company. She had *Mafs* said in the Chapel of *Holy-Rood-House*; which the Body of the People would have opposed, but the Protestant Lords, of too much Complaisance, protected it.

The Queen, with her evil Counsellors, did all she could to embarass the Reformation, and encourage Profanity. Which, at length, drew, by the Advice of Mr. *Knox* and others, the Congregations of the *West* to meet

At *Air* the 4th of September, 1562. and renew the Covenant for Reformation. It was subscrib'd by the Earl of *Glencairn*, Lord *Boyd*, *Ochiltree*, and many others.

The Covenant
renewed the
Fifth Time
at *Air*. Anno
1562.

No Intreaties of the Preachers nor Protestant Nobility could prevail with the Queen to suppress Idolatry, and attend the Preaching of the Gospel. She made a Progress to the *North*, and after sundry Adventures, particularly a Battle fought against the Earl of *Huntley*, who had many of his Friends and Men kill'd, some taken Prisoners, and himself died of Grief; The Court return'd to *Edinburgh*, where they spent their Time in Banquetting, Drunkenness and Masquerading, &c. The Queen's Behaviour to sundry Persons was the common Talk, particularly, to Monsieur *Chattelet*, whom she choos'd frequently in dancing the *Purpose*; and, whom she afterwards caus'd be execute; without allowing him to speak a Word, it seems,

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seems, on Purpose, to remove the Scandal. The Ministers preach'd continually against the Disorders of the Court, which incens'd her against them.

The Queen was, at length, married to the Lord *Darnly*, Son to the Duke of *Lennox*, whom she, a little before, created Duke of *Rothsay*, &c. And, upon the Marriage, caus'd him be proclaim'd King; which incens'd the Nation to have a King set over them without their Consent. He was a Man of a light Temper, and spent his Time in Hunting, &c. without siding, at first, either with the Protestants or Papists, but was afterward, by the Queen's Artifices, brought to Popery; and so continued, till he became suspicious of criminal Intrigues between the Queen and *David Rizio*, an Italian Fidler, whom she rais'd to be her Secretary for Foreign Affairs. His Jealousie prompted him to join to himself the Earl of *Morton*, Lord *Ruthven*, Lord *Lindsay*, and others, who took the said *David* from the Queen's Elbow, and caus'd slay him in a low Gallery in the Abbey. From that Time, the Queen despised the King, order'd his Name to be kept out of all publick Writs; and, at last,

~~caus'd his Murder~~ he was barbarously murder'd by J. Bothwell & his Accomplices.

In the mean Time, she was brought to Bed of a Son, afterward King *James VI.* Upon her Recovery, she began soon to intrigue with the Earl of *Bothwell*, who most injuriously forc'd his lawful Wife to take out a Divorce against him, that he might marry the Queen. She continuing still to persecute Religion and oppress the Lieges, the States, at length imprison'd her in *Loch-Leven* Castle, caus'd her resign the Government in Favours of her Son, then a Child about two Years of Age; and nominate the Lord *James*, sometime before created Earl of *Murray*, to be Regent, during the King's Minority. He was her Bastard Brother, much given to true Religion, of a sweet Temper, great Vivacity, of a quick Apprehension, very successful in Enterprizes, valiant in Battle, prudent in Counsels: God had honour'd him to be the chief Instrument of the Reformation, he was generally belov'd by good Men. The Queen escaped from *Loch-Leven*; her Party took Arms, but were suppress'd, and she fled to *England*.

King *James VI.* hardly two Years of Age, was placed on the Throne, *July 25. Anno 1567.* The States of the Kingdom approv'd the Resignation, and own'd the Earl of *Murray* Regent, and put the young
King

King in the Hands of the Earl of Mar, Captain of *Stirling* Castle. So the Government proceeded, notwithstanding all that the Queen's Party could do in the contrary.

By this Time God had wonderfully blessed the Gospel in *Scotland*, and multiplied the Preachers thereof, who, by common Consent, were distributed, as seem'd most to Edification, *John Knox* to *Edinburgh*, *Christopher Goodman* to *St. Andrews*, *Adam Heriot* to *Aberdeen*, *Mr. John Rue* to *St. Johnstoun*, *Paul Methwen* to *Jedburgh*, *William Chrytison* to *Dundee*, *David Ferguson* to *Dumfermline*, *Mr. David Lindsay* to *Leith*, and others to other Places. Besides these, sundry other Ministers, then call'd *Superintendents*, were appointed to travel up and down the Countries, to promote the Reformation, and report their Diligence, from Time to Time, to the general Assemblies of the Church.

In the Year 1567, The *Confession of Faith*, above-mentioned, was ratified in the first *Parl.* of King *James VI.* In which also, sundry other Acts were made against Popery, and in Favours of the Reformation; which, on that Footing, subsisted, and went on, from Time to Time, during the Government, first of the Earl of *Murray*,

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ray, then by the Duke of *Lenox*, thereafter by the Earl of *Mar*, and lastly, by the Earl of *Morton*, all successively Regents, during the King's Minority. 'Tis true, the *Tulchan Bishops* were sometimes pressed on the Church, That hungry Courtiers might, by their Means, possess many of the Church's Rents : But the general Assemblies met often, and acted freely, obliging all such Bishops to have the Charge of particular Flocks, and be no more in the Church than any other Ministers.

Anno 1578. The King took the Government upon himself, and, after many Struggles between the sincere Professors and the Ministers on the one Part, and the malignant Popish Party on the other ; an Abbreviate of the foresaid Confession was made and agreed to, under the Name of the *National Covenant* ; the same for Substance with the former ones, but larger, and adapted to the Circumstances the Church was then in. In the Year, 1580, it was subscrib'd by the Ministers and many others, and by the King and his Household that Year ; thereafter by Persons of all Ranks, in the Year 1581, by Ordinance of the Lords of the

Secret

The Cove-
nant renew'd
the 6th, and
7th, Times, &c.
1580, 1581,
1590, 1638,
1639.

of *the* National Covenant, &c. 27

Secret Council, and Acts of the General Assembly. Subscrib'd by all Sorts of Persons in the Year 1590, by a new Ordinance of Council, at the Desire of the General Assembly, with a general Bond for maintaining of the true Religion, and the King's Person. And subscribed in the Year, 1638, by the Noblemen, Barons, Gentlemen, Burgeses, Ministers and Commons then undersubscribing, *to maintain the said true Religion, &c.* And again subscrib'd, *Anno*, 1639, by Ordinance of Council and Act of the General Assembly.

At length, in the Year, 1592, the Presbyterian Government was, in its full Extent, ratified in the first of the 12 *Parl.* of King *James VI.* And so continued for sundry Years, till a Popish Party about the King, and the Hopes, he had conceiv'd, of succeeding to the Crown of *England*, when Queen *Elizabeth* should die, induc'd him to obtrude upon the Nation the Estate of Bishops, and force them on the Church, as far as he could; and so the Defection went on, all the rest of his Reign, and several Years of that of his Son *Charles I.* who, by the Instigation of the *Scots* and *English* Bishops, especially, of Archbishop *Laud*, that Firebrand, who put *Britain*
and

and *Ireland* into the outmost Confusion of Perjury, Bloodshed and Rapine, caus'd compile a Common-Prayer Book, and a Book of Canons for *Scotland*; which, together with the Rites of the Church of *England*, were, by the Authority of the privy Council, press'd upon the Nation.

But in the Year 1637. when the Prelatick Clergy began to officiate in *Edinburgh* after these superstitious Modes, the People oppos'd it in a tumultuary Way, and the Nobility, Gentry, Ministers and others, that from Time to Time had been despis'd and oppress'd by the Bishops, took that Opportunity to meet and advise with one another at *Edinburgh*. The Result of which was, that they swore and subscrib'd the *National Covenant* and Bond, for Maintenance of the true Religion themselves, and wrote their Missives to all Parts of the Kingdom to do the like; referring to the Determination of the next General Assembly, whether the Government of the King by Bishops, and the five Articles of *Perth*, were understood to be abjur'd by it.

The King and privy Council, observing their Authority was like to be weaken'd by these Measures, Enacted, *That all the Nation should swear and subscribe the very same National Covenant in terminis, and under-*
stand

of the National Covenant, &c. 29

stand it, so as Prelacy and the five Articles of Perth were not abjur'd by it: This was press'd on many with great Rigour and Force. The Necessity of the King's Affairs oblig'd him, against his Inclinations, to indict a General Assembly of the Church to meet at *Glasgow* in the following Year 1638, which accordingly met, where the Marquess of *Hamilton* was Commissioner for him, who, observing the Way they were like to act, dissolved them and withdrew: They however continued to sit, declar'd that Prelacy and the five Articles of *Perth* were abjur'd by the Covenant and Bond thereto annex'd, and appointed the samen of new to be sworn and subscrib'd; which was accordingly done in the Year 1639. This was the Rise and Progress of the *National Covenant*, and the several Shapes and Modes in which it hath appeared, whence the Reader may see they were all along defensive.

That Assembly depos'd all the Bishops, excommunicate some of them, and settled the Order of the Provincial Assemblies, and of the Presbyteries, much as we now have them.

The Assembly at *Edinburgh* 1639, Session 23. Supplicate the Earl of *Traquair* his Majesty's Commissioner, and the secret Council,

Council, to enjoin, that the Confession and Covenant should be subscrib'd by the Subjects of all Ranks and Qualities; which was granted by Act of Secret Council, *August 30.* that Year: Which, together with the Commissioner's Declarations thereanent were made to that Assembly, who also interposed their own Authority to that Purpose. 'Tis remarkable, that in the close of that Supplication, the Assembly press it from the Example of their Predecessors, *Anno 1589.* This they also enjoin'd in the Assembly *August 8. 1643.*

The King's Affairs, by the Influence of evil Counsellors, specially the *English* Bishops, of whom *Laud* was the Head, and the excommunicate *Scots* Bishops, who had retired to *London*, were more and more embarras'd; which cost him his Life, and rais'd *Oliver Cromwel* the Usurper; and the Anarchy in the State, and Disorder in the Church, continued long. In the mean time, on the News of the Father's Death, the *Scots* proclaimed his Son *Charles II.* King, who having agreed to their Propositions, was solemnly crown'd at *Scoon*, and swore Publickly, and subscrib'd the *National Covenant* and *Solemn League and Covenant*, making the greatest Professions of his sincere Purposes to adhere thereto, and promote

mote the Design of them in all his Domi-
nions: But, being sundry Times beaten
by *Cromwel* and his Officers, he was intirely
routed at *Worcester*, Anno 1651, whence
he retired to *France*; and *Cromwel*'s Usurpa-
tion went on. In the mean time, the *Scots*
Royalists manag'd after their rude barba-
rous Way: But the Presbyterian Ministers
continued to Pray for the King's Restora-
tion, and the grave and sober People of all
Ranks did what they could to promote it,
except that the Earl of *Argyle*, the Lord
Waristoun and others, gave some Compliance
with the Usurper *Cromwel*, who had liv'd
a compleat Example of Prudence in Coun-
sel, Valour in the Field, Hypocrisie in
the Church, and Wickedness in his Usur-
pation, died, and left his Son *Richard*, a
Man exceedingly weak, to succeed in the
Government. Wherefore his Military Of-
ficers began to intrigue for bringing Home
the King: But General Monk, then in *Scot-*
land, by the Assistance of that Nation, soon
got the Ascendant of them all; and so the
King was restored and enter'd *London* May
29. 1660.

By the first Act passed in the 2. Session
of his first Parliament, held by the Earl of
Middleton his Commissioner, and begun
upon 8. of May Anno 1662, Prelacy in its
full

full Extent was restored, upon the Footing of his Majesty's Royal Prerogative over all Persons and Causes Ecclesiastical and Civil, instead of Presbytry, which, the Year before, in the first Session, had been abrogate.

In the second Act of that 2d Session of Parliament, Act for Preservation of his Majesty's Person, &c. It was declared, among other Things, That the *National Covenant*, as it was sworn and explained *Anno* 1638, and thereafter, was an unlawful Oath: And, by the fifth Act of that Session of Parliament, all in publick Trust were obliged to subscribe a Declaration against it, as, by the Assembly at *Glasgow* 1638, it was explained to abjure Prelacy, and the five Articles of *Perth*.

After this, the Defection went on in *Scotland*, and the most horrid Barbarities of Bloodshed, Oppression and Rapine, by the Instigation of Prelates and corrupt Churchmen, were exercis'd by the civil Government on Preachers and People of all Ranks, that adhered to that Covenant; which from the Year 1557, until that Time had been current, with but a few Interruptions, among all Persons that regarded Religion and common Honesty.

I shall

I shall not here Remark all that I might on the Parties that renewed that Covenant afterwards, and suffered for their doing so; their Actions on the Matter were just, but, whether the Timing and Manner and Way in which they manag'd them was Prudent, I will not determine; but am sure, that the honest Testimony they gave, from Time to Time, for Presbytery, and the Obligation of the *National Covenant*, has, by the Blessing of God, been the Means of preserving the Doctrine, Discipline and Government of this National Church, as we now, by the Favour God, enjoy these; and I would not, for any Thing, entertain uncharitable Thoughts of the many precious Christians, both Ministers and others, who have lost their Liberties, Fortunes or Lives in the Defence of it, in the late Times of Prelacy and arbitrary Power, and I am sure too, he must have an odd Conscience, a bitter Spirit, and a strange Brow for a Bargain, that hath read the History of these Times, and yet would think or speak disgracefully of those precious Worthies, who, both on the Score of the Matter, and Formality of the *National Covenant*, suffered in their Lives, Estates or Liberties from and after the Restoration of King *Charles II.* until *November 1688*, when the glorious

C

Liberty

Liberty of this National Church began to dawn by the Noble Adventures of the Prince of *Orange*, afterward our King, a Person of the greatest Vivacity, and in all other Respects, of the brightest Character, of any Prince that liv'd on Earth in his Time; especially, if it be consider'd, that, under his auspicious Government, the honourable Estates of this Nation, did, with his hearty Consent, in his and his Royal Consort's *first Parliament, Sess. 2. Act 18.* rescind Forfaultures and Fines, to the Number of four hundred and upwards, of them therein mention'd; beside a general Clause in the Act, including all others, who, in the Commencement foresaid, suffer'd for Non-Conformity with the wicked Courses of these Times. That Catalogue hath in it Persons of all Ranks in the Nation; Noblemen, Gentlemen, Burgeses, Ministers of the Gospel, and Commons of all Sorts; many of whom, and others, not therein nam'd, had lost their Lives, or been banish'd by Iniquity establish'd by Law; and 'tis remarkable, that their Majesties and Estates did, by that Act, rehabilitate, redintegrate and restore so many of the said Persons, as were then living, and the Memory of them, who were dead, and their Successors

of the National Covenant, &c. 585
Tors and Posterity to their Goods, Fame,
and worldly Honour, &c. and shall, any
of us hint at disgracing their Memory?
The Scaffolds and Fields, in sundry Towns
and Countries of the Nation, smok'd with
the Blood of those Innocents; and shall we,
contrary to all the Rules of Charity to the
Principles of the blessed Revolution, and
to the Foundation of our present Standing,
say, they did but throw away their
Lives.

Secondly, I come to consider the Views,
that the Persons principally concern'd had,
or might have had in the first framing and
subsequent renewings of this *National Co-
venant*, from Time to Time, on which I
shall be very short.

When I read the Form and Mode, in
which it appear'd, *Anno* 1557, consider
the Persons subscribing, and the Hazard
they were in, on the Account of their
Profession and Actings, I cannot get my
self forc'd to have an uncharitable Thought
of them, but must believe, excepting here
the common Infirmities of the Lord's
People, they had in View the Honour of
God, and the Good of their own Souls,
and of the Souls of others: For after the
Congregation had, a little before that
Time, written for Mr. *Knox* to come from

Geneva to this Land, and to Mr. *Calvin* to forward him, as hath been said : When he was as far in Way as *Diep*, having receiv'd Letters from his Friends, to stop, in Regard, they apprehended the Congregation to be fainting in their Purpose, he from thence wrote the Congregation a long Letter of the Date, *October, 27th. Anno 1557*, which induc'd them, then in the utmost Hazard of Wrath from the Popish Government, influenc'd and encouraged by the Court of *France*, to swear and subscribe the Form recorded, Page 4.

I might make the same Reflections, upon the Main, on all the subsequent Renewings of it, *Annis*, at *Perth 1559*, At *Air* that Year ; at *Edinburgh 1560*, at *Air 1562*, at *Edin.* and thro' the whole Kingdom *1580, 1581, 1590, 1638, 1639*, and at the Coronation of King *Charles II.* at *Scoon*. I will not deny; but that, in sundry of those Periods, carnal Men and Hypocrites might have design'd the increasing their worldly Interest out of the Church's Rents; others, Resentments of the Covetousness and Pride of the Popish and Prelatick Clergy, and their own religious Pride and Vanity : But I am sure, the Contexture of this *National Covenant* in all its Shapes, and particularly, as it stands, and is bound
up

up with our *Confession of Faith*, and as it, with the general Bond for Maintenance of the true Religion and the King's Person and Government annexed to it, and sworn and subscrib'd *Anno* 1638, 1639, is, without all Exception, in the Form really good; and it were the most uncharitable Thing imaginable, to dislike it on the Score of some pernicious Designs, some Persons might have had, in going into it.

'Tis true, That the Views of King *Charles II*, and the Malignants of his Party, could not but appear to the thinking Men of that Generation, to have been Hypocrisy in Religion, and a State Intrigue to promote his Affairs: But the extraordinary Affection that the *Scots* Nation, innate to them, had, at that Time, to Loyalty to their Princes, made them overlook that, on Hopes, they had Power enough first to settle him on the Throne, and then to keep him to his Engagements; tho' in this, the wise Providence of God thought fit to disappoint them.

Thirdly, I come to offer some Arguments for the *Perpetual Obligation* of the *National Covenant* upon the Posterities of those, who first form'd it, and of those who afterward, from Time to Time, renewed it. And to this Purpose, I propose to be consider'd, 1. *That the Matter of it*

38 *Arguments for the Perpet. Obligation*
is perpetually binding. 2. That, according to
the several Shapes and Modes, in which it
has appear'd, it is so too.

1. That the Matter of the *National Covenant* of the Church of *Scotland* is perpetually binding, will not be denied by any Presbyterian; it engages to Reformation from Popery, Prelacy, Superstition, and every Thing that's contrary to sound Doctrine and the Power of Godliness; and engages to sound Doctrine, Faith, Religion, Discipline, right Use of the holy Sacraments, and Reformation of Life according to the Scriptures.

I shall not here consider the Question; if Prelacy, such as it was in *Scotland*, Anno 1661, and afterwards, was abjur'd by it, before the Year 1638, tho', for my Part, I am fully perswaded of it, and I think, all honest Presbyterians are so too; but that not lying in my Way here so directly, I come,

In the 2d. Place, to shew, That the *National Covenant*, according to the several Shapes and Modes, in which it hath appear'd, is perpetually binding. For, if any Engagements whatsoever can be suppos'd binding on Posterity, *National Covenants* must be such, where the Matter is Reformation, adhering to God's Institutions,

ons, and keeping his Commandments, as the Matter of this is, altho' a Clause respecting Posterity be not contain'd in them; yea, it is so too sometimes even in the Case of indifferent Things. And, to make all this out, we need only to reflect on some Passages of Scripture, where we will find 1. That publick Promises, such as that of the Nobles of the *Jews*, anent remitting Usury, *Nebe.* 5. 12, 13. which, if it had been broken by their Posterity, they had been involv'd in the Curse, tho' it contain'd no Clause expressly respecting them. 2. Publick Adjurations, where the Community, either expressly or tacitely consents thereto and the View of them, are perpetual, and the Matter either indifferent, or objectively binding, oblige Posterity; as in the Case of *Joshuah's* adjuring the People, not to build *Jericho*, *Josh.* 6. 26. And accordingly, the Breach of it brought the Curse upon *Hiel the Bethelite.* 1. *Kings*, 16. 34. 3. Publick Vows do bind Posterity, so did *Jacob's*, *Gen.* 28. 21. and his did own it, *Hos.* 12. 4. *He had Power over the Angel, and prevail'd--- He found him in Bethel, and there he spake with us.* 4. Publick Oaths do oblige the Posterity of those who enter into them, in the Case above-stated; *Joseph* exacted an

40 *The Perpetual Obligation*

Oath of the Children of *Israel*, That they should bury his Bones in *Canaan*, *Gen.* 50. 25. And, long after all that Generation was dead, their Posterity thought themselves bound, and acted accordingly, *Exod.* 13. 19. *Josh.* 24. 32. 5. *National Covenants* with Men, where the Oath of God is interposed, are binding on Posterity; *Saul* and his bloody House, with the whole Nation of *Israel*, after many Ages, were plagu'd for his breaking *Joshuah's* Covenant with the *Gibeonites*, altho' he and the Elders of *Israel* were brought into it by the Guile of that People. 6. *National Covenants* with God, before Men, about Things objectively obliging, are perpetual, and binding upon Posterity, especially, if they are of an hereditary Nature, the Subject permanent, and the End good, as was always in the Case of this *National Covenant*; and hence, such *Covenants* are called perpetual, *Jer.* 50. 5. *They shall ask the Way to Zion, --- Come, and let us join our selves to the Lord in a Perpetual Covenant, that shall not be forgotten.* 'Tis plain, That the solemn *National Covenant*, the Lord enter'd into with the People of *Israel*, *Deut.* 29. renewed afterward by *Joshuah*, *Hezekiah*, *Jebojadab*, *Josiab*, *Ezra* and *Nebe-miah*, were binding on Posterity, tho'

Clauses,

of the National Covenant, &c 41

Clauses expressly respecting them were not insert; and the People were often plagu'd of God for their Breaches of it.

'Tis true, the several Forms of the *National Covenant* of this Church had not any Clauses in them expressly respecting Posterity, until the general Bond for the Maintenance of the true Religion was form'd; yet it cannot be denied, That, all along, before that Time, the Subscribers meant, it should respect Posterity, even as these *Scripture Covenants* I have already mention'd. This in our Nation hath been often solemnly ratified by Authority of Church and State, and made the Foundation of the People's Compact with the King in the Coronation Oath of *Scotland*; And as it was subscrib'd, *Anno* 1638, it has Clauses expressing its Perpetuity.

Fourthly, I shall endeavour to Answer the several Objections against the *National Covenant*, and its perpetual Obligation.

I. 'Tis *objected*, That in the Preamble, the Expressions, *We all, and every one of us protest, after due Examination of our Consciences----*and therefore we believe with our Hearts, confess with our Mouths. And in the close of the Bond annex'd thereto, *We, from the Knowledge and Conscience of our Duty to God----*and other Expressions, are so

42 *Objections against it, and its*

so very solemn and serious, as necessarily suppose every one of the Subscribers to have been in a State of Grace, and truly religious : Whereas it was very well known, That too many of them were Hypocrites, and others perversly wicked. To this it is

Answer'd, That the *Covenant* itself, and the Bond annex'd to it, being very serious and solemn, such a serious and solemn Preamble is very agreeable to its Nature and Design ; and 'tis to be lamented, That all the Subscribers came not up to the same ; yet that's no relevant Objection : For the Preamble expresses rather what the Subscribers ought to be, than what really they were, or might reasonably be suppos'd all to be. *Moses* never imagin'd, That all that great Company he took into Covenant with God, *Deut.* 29. 10. and downward, were true Converts ; and yet *Chap.* 7. ver. 6. he says to them, *Thou art a holy People unto the Lord thy God, &c.* And *Chap.* 28. ver. 9. it may be too on that very Day he took them into Covenant, he says, *The Lord shall establish thee an holy People unto himself.* Further, 'tis well known, That such as have a competent Measure of Knowledge, and a justifiable Profession of Religion before Men, are,
according

perpetual Obligation, answer'd. 43

according to Scripture, and the Rules of this Church, admitted solemnly to renew their personal Covenant with God at the Lord's Table, tho' alas they are but the smallest Number of that Sort that are really in a State of Grace.

2. 'Tis *objected*, That the Church of *Scotland* having sometimes made consenting to the *Covenant* a Condition of Church Communion, straitned the Door more than ever God intended, or is usual in any other Protestant Church. To which it is

Answer'd, That there is nothing contain'd in the *National Covenant*, abstracting from the Government of the Church by Bishops, and the five Articles of *Perth*, but what all the reform'd Churches in *Europe* believe and profess; and I hope no Presbyterian will grudge, on Account of these excepted Respects, especially when he considers, That the Prelatists in *Scotland* have, for most Part, been always looking Southward to *Rome*; particularly now, when their Darling the Pretender is there. Beside, all the Protestant Churches have, on the Matter, enter'd into the like *Covenants*; which, in the like Circumstances of their first entring into them, they reckon'd perpetually Binding. The Protestants in *Germany* enter'd into a
League

44 *Objections against it, and its*

League and Covenant at Smalcald, Anno 1530, and renew'd it at that Place Anno 1535; the Bohemians at Prague; the Switz. Protestant Cantons at sundry Places and Times; the United Protestants, headed first by the Lord of Brederode, and afterward by Lewis Earl of Nassau, at sundry Times and Places, in the Beginning of their Reformation, came into solemn Covenant and Association to promote Religion, and maintain their Liberty against the King of Spain, and the bloody Inquisition. Frederick I. King of Denmark, for himself, and his People, made a League with the Protestant Princes of Germany, for carrying on the Reformation of Religion; and so did Henry VIII. of England with the same Princes. Charles Gustavus Duke of Sunderman, and the Swedes, enter'd into a League and Covenant against Popery; and because Sigismund then King of Poland, who ought to have succeeded to the Crown, was for Popery, and against the Reformation, he and his Son were both put by the Succession, and the said Charles put in his Room. Moreover, what else are the XXXIX Articles of the Church of England, and Consent requir'd to them, than a National Covenant upon the Matter: And I presume, That any Man speaking

perpetual Obligation, answer'd. 45

ing overtly, or writing against the Transactions above-mention'd, or against the Confessions of the several other Protestant Churches, which also have something of the Nature of *National Covenants* in them, tho' they contain not expressly an Association for mutual Defence; is competent enough in these Churches to hinder from Church Communion in sealing Ordinances among them; and I think any Man would be wonder'd at, that would reason against the perpetual Obligation of them, in the Circumstances in which they were enter'd into.

3. 'Tis *objected*, That the Covenant was forc'd upon the People by the Church, under Pain of Censure; and, at the Request of the Church, by the State, under Civil Penalties; as appears from the Supplication of the General Assembly *Anno* 1539, to his Majesty's High Commissioner, &c. from the Act of the Lords Council in their Answer to that Supplication, an Act of that same Assembly, and also from another Act of the Assembly 1643.

Ans. The Supplication objected shews, That at that Time the Malignants about the King impress'd him with a Jealousy, That the Church intended to shake off his Authority; wherefore, to express their
Abhor-

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Abhorrence of that groundless Imputation; they at that Time were warm, I confess, in pressing the Covenant: But I hope no reasonable Man will, from that one suppos'd wrong Step conclude, against the Warrantableness of the *Covenant* it self, or against its perpetual Obligation: And I presume, if the wisest Presbyterian now in *Scotland* had liv'd at that Time, he had thought it very proper to give into those Measures, especially seeing the Preservation of the King's Person and Authority, in the Defence of the true Religion, is one considerable Article sworn to; and so it was then, as formerly, wholly Defensive. Beside, the Assembly 1649, *Sess.* 19. and elsewhere, appoints such Exactness in receiving the Engagers, &c. and instructing them, and others, That they subscribe *with Judgment and in Righteousness*, that 'tis a Wonder any should Quarrel it.

4. 'Tis *objected*, That the *National Covenant* is declar'd illegal by Act of Parliament, *Cha.* II. *Par.* 1. *Sess.* 2. *Act* 2. and *Act* 5. of that Session, appointing the Declaration against it thereto subjoin'd, to be subscrib'd by all Persons in publick Trust. *Item*, *Cha.* II. *Par.* imposing the Test, &c. which to this Day were never repeal'd: Concluding thence, That the owning the
Obligation

perpetual Obligation, answer'd. 47

Obligation of it, is, according to these Acts, treasonable and rebellious. To which it is

Answer'd, That, even by these Tyrannical Acts and Declaration mention'd, the *National Covenant* is not simply treasonable or rebellious; but as it was sworn and explain'd *Anno 1638, i. e.* as it abjures the Government of the Church by Bishops, the Civil Power of Church-Men, and the five Articles of *Perth*, in which Respects these Acts are rescinded generally. *Act 3. Par. 1.* King *William* and Queen *Mary*, *Sess. 1.* and *Act 5. Par. 1.* ratifying *The Confession of Faith*, and settling Presbyterian Church-Government; and particularly *Par. King William* and Queen *Mary, Sess. 2. Act. 27.* entituled, *Act rescinding the Laws for Conformity.*

5. 'Tis objected, That in the *National Covenant*, and the general Bond, the Subscribers are solemnly sworn to maintain the King's Person and Authority, the Liberties of our Country, Ministration of Justice, and Punishment of Iniquity; and in the *solemn League, Art. 3.* the Rights and Privileges of the Parliament, and the Liberties of the Kingdom, which, more than the thousand Part of the Church and Nation of *Scotland* neither do, nor can be suppos'd to understand, and so cannot swear
in

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in Truth, Righteousness and Judgment: Besides, they are engag'd to do all with their best Counsel, their Bodies, Means, and their whole Power, against all Sorts of Persons whatsoever; which would seem to engage, by an Oath, all the Subscribers to be Soldiers in the Cause of the *Covenant*, and Judges, and Executioners, with Respect to Malignants. To this is

Answered, (1.) That an Oath binding simply to Particulars of mere Fact doth, no Doubt, require that it be in Truth, Righteousness and Judgment, that the Taker both know the Things sworn to, and be perswaded that they are true and righteous; as, if a Man should swear to maintain the Life, Honour and Estate of his Friend or Superior, in such and such particular Points, against the Invasion and Oppression of others. (2.) On the other Hand, if an Oath do bind to a certain Duty, either generally express'd and qualify'd with Righteousness, and agreeable to the Station and Capacity of the Taker, the very Notion of the Duty so qualified is sufficient to fit the Person to bind his Soul by such an Oath. Suppose I should engage my self by Oath to perform all Righteousness, as a Judge, between Man and Man, it sufficiently qualifies me to come under such an Engagement,

perpetual Obligation, answer'd. 49

ment, if I understand the general Notion of Righteousness, tho' I cannot possibly know for the Time, every Thing that may be included therein. (3.) Oaths of a mix'd Nature, such as the Abjuration now in Use, that I may swear in Truth, Righteousness and Judgment: 'Tis necessary, indeed, I know on what Grounds his Majesty is King *de jure*; but when, by my Oath I assert he has Right to all his other Dominions to him belonging, 'tis not necessary, before I be concern'd to act, that I understand the Ground of his Right to every particular Place, he, as King of these Nations, claims a Right to. In like Manner, when I swear to maintain the King's Authority, the Privileges of the Parliament, the Liberties of the People, the Discipline and Government of the Church; 'tis still understood, to be in the Defence of the Gospel, and according to Justice (as the said Covenant qualifies the Oath) tho' I do not clearly understand the Particulars: I have sworn that his Majesty hath not only a Right to the Crown of these Realms, but also to all his other Dominions to him belonging; and, when my Oath is qualified with Righteousness, I think I have sworn in Truth and Judgment, altho' I know not exactly what his Right is to *Madraspatan* in *Coromandel*,

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Bombay on the West Coast of *Cambaia*, and Twelve other Places on the Coast of *Coromandel*, Nine in the Gulph of *Bengal*, Five in the *Mogul's* Empire, Eight in *Arabia Felix*, Three in *Persia*, Eighteen in the Island of *Sumatra*, on the *Maly* Coast, in *Siam*, *China*, and fundry other Places in *Asia*, besides Seventeen in *Africa*, and Twenty four large Countries or Islands in *America*. Is a Man in my Station oblig'd by my Oath, particularly and clearly to understand the King's Right to *Jamaica*, *Barbadoes*, *Antegoa*, *St. Christopher's*, *New-England*, *Pensilvania*, &c. Further, the Oath of the *National Covenant*, and Bond annex'd thereto, is qualify'd with, *According to our Vocation*; and in the Preamble, all Ranks of Men in the Nation, specifically design'd, plainly declare, That the *Covenant* Engagements, are respective to the several Places and Relations: A Privy Counsellor, a Member of Parliament, an Officer in the Army; yea, a single Centinel, a Minister in the Church; yea, a Husband-Man, with Industry, tilling his Ground, and threshing his Corns, &c. by which he is enabled to pay the Taxes, can as well, according to his Vocation, answer the Ends of the *Covenant*, as any of the former Sorts in their Stations; tho' I deny
not

perpetual Obligation, answer'd. 51

not, That they and he too would be bound to fight for it, in case of extream Necessity.

6. 'Tis *objected*, That many Persons very ignorant, not only of the King's Authority, as above; but also of the Discipline of the Church, were solemnly sworn into the *Covenant*. To which it is

Answered, That all that great Company, Man, Wife, Bairn, bought and hir'd Servant, that, in *Deut.* 29. 10. enter'd into *Covenant* with the Lord, understood as little of the Merits of that Cause, as the *Scots* Covenanters did of theirs. 'Tis to no Purpose to deny Consequence from the Old Testament-Antecedents in this Case; or to alledge, there's no Instance of *National Covenants* in the New Testament. For (1.) The Reason of the People's coming into *Covenant* with God, viz. the Receipt of remarkable Favours from him, great Defection from their first Love to him, and their first Works, pressing universal Calamities, imminent Judgments, and the like, is the same, under both Testaments. (2.) I doubt not but that Passage, *Jerem.* 50. 5. *They shall ask the Way to Zion with their Faces thitherward, saying, Come, let us join our selves to the Lord in a perpetual Covenant which shall not be forgotten,* is, at once,

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a Prophecy of the Return of the *Jewish* Captivity from *Babylon*; and of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah's National Covenants*; and also, of the like *National Covenants* under the Dispensation of the Gospel: And I could even think, That in it the Spirit of GOD had a Respect to poor *Scotland*, and this *Covenant*. (3.) Even under the New Testament, there are Instances of what, by Analogy, may be call'd *National Covenants*. *Acts* 16. 33, 34. the Jaylor and all his, which was a Sort of little Nation, believ'd, made a Profession of the Gospel, and were baptiz'd; and, if the Magistrates of *Philippi* had done the like, the *Covenant* had been farther, subjectively, extended; and, yet further, if these having the Administration, and all Ranks in the Kingdom of *Macedon*: For my own Part, I can see no Odds from the Nature of the Thing. The *Corinthians*, 2 *Cor.* 8. 5. gave themselves first unto the Lord, and then to *Paul* and his Companions, Ministers of the Gospel, by the Will of God; which very shortly expresses the two principal Heads largely declar'd in the *National Covenant*, viz. Subjection to God, and, under him, to a Gospel-Ministry and Ordinances, in Respect to the Concerns of Salvation, (4.) Seeing the All-wise GOD thought not fit, within

perpetual Obligation, answer'd. 53

within the Commencement of the New Testament-History, generally to convert any one Nation in the World to the Christian Religion, 'tis unwarrantable to infer, That a Nation, when generally in Profession it submits to the Gospel, may not enter into *Covenant* for the Defence of it.

7. If it be *objected*, That now the Government of the Church is settled by Law, an excellent *Confession of Faith* receiv'd in the Church, and enacted by Authority of Parliament, and Formula's declaring, in ample Form, our Adherence to the Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Church-Government by Presbytery; the Obligation of the *Covenant*, as to the Formality of it, is determin'd, and the above Securities come in its Room.

It is *answered*, The said *Confession* and *Formula's* do not expressly contain an Obligation on the Subscribers, to stand by one another in the Defence of the Gospel, as the *National Covenant* and Bond thereto annex'd do; it is very proper all Ranks be impréss'd with its perpetual Obligation, especially in that Respect, seeing, tho' the Enemies of Christ's Gospel have not all the Power they were wont to have, they have yet abundance of ill Will; and how soon a just and jealous GOD may, for our Sins,

put Power in their Hands, we cannot tell: But since the gracious Authority we live under, has not thought fit hitherto to enjoin the subscribing the Covenant, and yet have remov'd all Laws that stood against it, we ought, at least, freely and openly to acknowledge its Obligation on us and our Posterity. And it may be the Association enter'd into with the Prince of Orange at *Exeter*, ought rather to have been continu'd from Time to Time (*mutatis mutandis*) than declar'd determin'd by Act of Parliament, especially seeing they were oblig'd to enter into a new One, on the Occasion of the Plot by *Pendergrafs*, *Charnock*, and others.

Lastly, I come to make a very short Application of the Premisses. And they are of Use to humble all Ranks, under a Sense of our miserable Defection and Apostasy from the *Covenant* of our GOD, who, notwithstanding it seems, *remembers the Kindness of our Youth, and the Love of our Espousals*, *Jer. 2. 2.* May the Consideration of his infinite Goodness lead us to Repentance: May the LORD pour out, on all Ranks, a *Spirit of Grace and Supplication*, that may engage to own the Obligation of his *Covenant* in such Manner,

ner, as may be for his Honour, the Comfort of his People, a clear Testimony against our former and present Defection; and of Use to convey favourable Impressions of CHRIST's early Love to this poor sinful Land, and for the Preservation of the Protestant Succession.

I hope it will give Offence to none that I, according to the several Acknowledgments and Acts of the General Assemblies of this Church, take Notice of sundry Enormities in the Lives and Callings even of Ministers, and also of others; and accordingly suggest proper Remedies.

First as to Ministers. We have much fruitless Conversation in all Companies; the Want of Gravity in our Carriage and Apparel; and more Acquaintance with other Books than with those of the sacred Scriptures; a corrupt Way of entering into the Ministry by Means of Letters of Recommendation to Heritors, and others; Silence in publick Cause, and not labouring to cure the Disaffection and Apostasy of the People; Want of Zeal and Love for the Conversion of Souls, not being weighted with the Want of Success in reclaiming Sinners; self-seeking in Preaching, affecting rather a dry Clink of Rhetorical Discourse, than the solid, convincing, methodical

dical Way of Preaching, which the LORD us'd so signally to bless in this Land.

Secondly, With Respect to the People, Their Want of Conscience in setting and keeping up the Worship of God in their Families, their neglecting Family-Catechising and Discipline, their giving Way to themselves and those under their Care to tittle, be drunk, profane the Lord's Day, and mock at Sin, and jest the Discipline of the Church, particularly against that brutal and horrid Sin of *Fornication*, &c.

As Remedies to these Evils, I presume, in all Humility, to suggest, That, in private Trials for Licence to Probationers, Presbyteries would be very serious, as far as possible, to be satisfied, That the Party is well acquainted with an experimental Work of Grace in his Conversion; especially, That such of the Presbytry, as suggest, that a young Man be taken on Trials, be able, with all the Assurance that the Nature of the Thing can admit, to speak to that Purpose: That Ministers beware of encouraging Settlements by Recommendation to disaffected Heritors, till first the Body of the People, especially, the best affected of them, signify their Satisfaction with his Piety and other ministerial Qualifications: That Ministers take special

cial Care to have their Conversation in Heaven, and that Godly Conference be had among them at their Meetings, even at their ordinary Refreshments: That they be more diligent in Catechising, visiting Families and the sick; and generally, That, in Conversation with their People, their Discourse be to edifying.

As to the People, I humbly suggest, That every one of a Family apart bestow some Moments in secret Prayer, Morning and Evening; That, in Family-Religion, the Duties be short and serious, but that no Part, neither Praise, Reading nor Prayer be omitted; That on the Lord's Day, Families and Persons be very serious in their Worship, and bestow more Time than ordinarily; particularly, that they be in Family and secret Prayer very importunate, for God's Presence and Blessing in and upon the publick Ordinances. Here, I would suggest three Things, in which, I hope, serious Christians will find Comfort: 1. That Families may, now and then, as Occasion casts up, have Family-Fasts; 2. That every well-meaning Christian, immediately after publick divine Worship, go to God in secret, and cry for a Blessing on it. 3. That, when any Member of a Family goes from Home, suppose it were to a Market, he be
alone

alone with God in secret for his Protection: And, when he returns, he be likewise, before he eats or drinks, some Minutes with God in secret.

And generally, because Admission to the Lord's Table, and coming to it, is the great Criterion of Religion, special Care would be had on the one Hand, to avoid a promiscuous Admission and going to it, lest the Lord be thereby provok'd to abhorre that solemn Part of his Worship; and, on the other Hand, that the People, in this unconstant Time, do not spurn at that sacred Ordinance.

I profess, 'tis not Arrogance has led me into the above Censure of any of the reverend Ministry of this National Church, but the Hopes I conceiv'd, that laying the Premisses before the People, into whose Hands this Essay may come, might engage them the better to bear with the Duty of Ministers in their Calling and Office; and, if it shall have, in some Measure, its desir'd Effect, I'll be encourag'd to offer more on that Subject, with Respect unto the People, as the Lord shall give Opportunity.

I am so far from thinking, that pressing the People publickly, by Oath, Subscription, or otherwise, to own the *Obligation* of the *National Covenant* of this Church,
would

would have a good Effect, that I believe the doing it, in this Juncture, would be attended with many obvious Inconveniences : But I am humbly of Opinion, 1. That the Church, in her several Judicatures, should acknowledge the same, as Occasion casts up. 2. That Ministers should, in their Preaching and Catechising, let the People into the History of this Church in the several Periods thereof, and the Wrestlings of our Reformers and Sufferers for a covenanted Work of Reformation, which God hath hitherto honoured to be the Means of our present standing and working in the Lord's Vineyard. 3. That Ministers and serious People should pray warmly, ' That the Lord may pour out
' from on high, his Spirit, to fit, and qualify this *National Church*, to make a solemn Acknowledgment of publick Sins
' and Breaches of the *Covenant*, and a solemn Engagement to all the Duties contain'd therein, more especially these, that
' relate to the Dangers of these Times ; and
' that all, who fear the Lord, may, with
' Patience and Hope, wait for such a Season, is the Prayer of,

*Sir,**Yours, &c.*

P O S T.

P O S T S C R I P T.

Advertisement,

WHEN three anonymous Letters, tending to the Subversion of all true Religion and Order in the Church, and Loyalty in the State, and which are, in Writ, industriously sent about, fell into my Hands, after I had resolv'd on publishing the preceeding Essay, I was once minded to engross them here, which, I almost thought, might be a sufficient Confutation of them: But, on Reflection, I ghes'd, it might be better to make the following Remarks on them, as an Antidote to the more incautious Reader, into whose Hands they may be industriously put.

Remarks on the first Letter to the Reverend Mr. Adams Minister of the Gospel at K-----d, containing an Answer to the Queries propos'd by him to the Reverend Mr. G-----s Minister of the Gospel at T-----n, concerning the National Covenant, &c.

The first Paragraph contains the most disgraceful Reflections on our Forefathers, as if their promising to continue, during Life, in the Obedience of the Doctrine and Discipline of this Church, under the Pains con-

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contain'd in the Laws, and of the fearful Judgment of GOD at the Great Day, did import, That they were of Opinion Religion, *i. e.* (as he explains it in the Progress of his Letters) the true Grace of GOD, was to be produc'd by human Penalties, That they made the Authority of Man the Ground of Faith, &c. and then concludes, That either they made the least Variation from the Doctrine and Discipline of that Time infer the divine Judgment, and thence alledges, that was an asserting their own Infallibility, and (very ironically) passing a modest Sentence on every Man and Church, who in the least differ'd from them; or else, That they were to accompany the Church in all the possible Changes it might undergo in Doctrine and Discipline. ----- On which I remark, 1. That the scurrilous Author, either of Ignorance or Design, takes no Notice, that the Compilers and Subscribers of the *National Covenant* expressly declare, that the Doctrine, then own'd, (and still continuing in this Church) is that reveal'd to the World by the preaching of the blessed Evangel. 2. That he groundlessly insinuates, that the Doctrine of this *National Church and Covenant* was peculiar to our Reformers; tho' they plainly say, it was receiv'd

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receiv'd by many and sundry notable Kirks and Realms. 3. That they were so far from passing a Sentence of Divine Judgment against others, who, in some Points of Discipline, differ'd from them, that the General Assembly, *Anno 1566*, wrote in another Strain to their Brethren the Bishops of *England*, on the Occasion mention'd in their Letter. 4. That they are, by that Covenant, no farther bound to accompany the Church, than the Church follow Christ in the blessed Evangel. 5. I am sure, it never came into their Minds, That saving Grace was to be produc'd by legal Penalties, (especially, seeing they expressly abjure the Popish *Opus operatum*) but that, under the Penalties contain'd in the Laws of the Land, they should continue in the outward Profession and Practice of the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church; which, at that Time, was necessary as a Test to know their Friends and Enemies, and so very proper for their own Defence.

In the 2d Paragraph he falls on the *Solemn League*, which he says, as appears to him from the 1st and 4th Articles of it, was design'd in Effect to put the Faith of the three Nations and their religious Practice under the Command of the Clergy and Army ----
and

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and makes a Mock of the exprefs Design of it, viz. That the three Nations might dwell together in Unity; as if it were ridiculous to expect the Lord's Dwelling among a People, the rather, that they agree in the Truth and Uniformity of Religion, exprefly contrary to fundry Passages of Scripture. I will not trace him with Respect to the *Solemn League*, it being none of my present Business; I must only remark; 1. That he is mistaken in denying, That the Inquisition and persecuting Spirit of Popery is abjur'd in it: For that's exprefly abjur'd in the *National Covenant*, and that again is exprefly adopted by the *Solemn League*, Ar. 1. 2. That whoever shall read that *League* and the *National Covenant* of this Church, and compare them with the Situation of Affairs in these Times, will, at first Sight, see, the whole was necessary in the Defence of the Gospel, and the King's Safety and just Greatness, especially, in the Time of King *James VI.* when a Popish and malignant Party were continually forming Intrigues against both; first with the Queen Mother, and then with the King of *Spain*: Our Ancestors then acting such a Part as *Jehojadab*, 2 *Kings* 11. 4, &c. 3. That his Sense of our Lord's Words, *My Kingdom is not of this World*, is very odd,

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odd, and his Saying, That Religion always abates in Proportion, as human Authority prevails. What thinks he of the noble Promises, *That Kings should be nursing Fathers, and their Queens nursing Mothers to the Church?* What, was it worse with the Church under the auspicious Government of *Hezekiah, Josiah, &c.* than under the wicked Princes, that went before, or succeeded them?

Then the Author goes on to answer the Queries put by the Reverend Mr. A---s, who, I doubt not, has fully and convincingly replied: But, seeing that the Letters containing these Queries with the Author's Answers are in my Hand, I humbly offer a few Thoughts on these Answers.

And, as to the 1st Query, He cleverly mistakes the Meaning of it, as if the Church, as a Society, had an intrinsic Power, abstractedly from the Word of God, to prescribe and impose their own Terms of Communion, even by Contract and Covenant; whereas the Querist all along intends it in the express'd Sense of the *National Covenant*; namely, That it was enter'd into according to the blessed Evangel: And I am sure, whatever Divisions arise in the World, by Accident from the Christian Religion, the reveal'd Intendment

Remarks on the first Letter. 65

ment of it is, That all its Professors should keep the Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace.

His Answer to the 2d and 3d Queries, is the most insipid Stuff I ever saw; 'tis well known, the Prince of Peace said, *Mark 9. 50. Have Salt in your selves, and have Peace one with another*; That Paul enjoind the *Ephesians Chap. 4. v. 3. to keep the Unity of the Spirit, &c.* and that he required the *Corinthians Chap. 16. v, 17 to mark them which cause Divisions, &c.* which any wise Man will reckon equivalent to enjoining them a Covenant; and that they, by their Profession, restipulate, I think, will be as little questioned. I'm as little of a persecuting Spirit as the Author; but am sure, that Christian Exhortations to Meekness and Forbearance, yea, Church Censures, are very consistent with being in Covenant with God and one another; and even in some Cases, -as the Execution of a Murderer as a Sacrifice to the Justice of the Law, the Good of his Soul may be intended by the Destruction of his Body.

His Answers to the 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th Queries are childish: I only remark, that the very Nature of consenting to a Form of Doctrine, as was among the Primitive Christians with Respect to the Apostles

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Creed,

Creed, the *Nicene* Faith, and the Creed of *Athanasius*, came up to the Import of a Covenant with God, and among themselves; especially seeing, all Christians, particularly Preachers, were bound to carry with them, where ever they went, Letters of Communion, bearing their Consent to the Orthodox Faith; which Remark, I think will be very grating to the Author, who all along breathes after an odd Sort of Liberty, which he knows is very acceptable to most Men, that on that Footing, he may build his Reputation, because it seems he cannot see how to do it any other Way.

In his Answer to the 9th and 10th Queries, he jumbles a great many different Purposes to confuse the State of the Case, which I think is clear'd above; and it seems he will not believe it just for a Man in the Cause of Religion to act defensively, till they are leading him forth to Execution. If the King of *Britain* had not acted otherwise defensively these two Years bygone, these Nations had been given up to Popery and Slavery. As to the Instance of the Disciples desiring Fire to come down from Heaven against the *Samaritans*, 'tis not to the Purpose: For, as a new Method of Religion was but in *Embryo* at that Time; so our Lord never intended it should be propagated

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ted by Civil Penalties, and yet that hinders not, but that the Professors of it may be brought under a Test or Trial ; and often God has fixed Marks of his Displeasure upon Hypocrites, as in the Case of *Ananias* and *Sapphira*.

His Answer to 11 12 and 13th Queries are not to the Purpose ; That Prophecie *Rev. 17, 16*, was not only designed to refresh the then persecuted Church ; but it also insinuates that the Actors were to perform that Work with Honour and Approbation, which never was, nor could be in the Case of our Lord's Murderers.

His Answers to the 14th, 15th, and 16th Queries are not worth noticing.

His Answer to the 17th Query is very senseless. The Church of *Scotland* has been hitherto freer of Divisions than any other Protestant Church in *Europe* ; and if Persons of Libertine Principles, like the Author, were duly and timely marked, there would be less Division and more Edification ; and I think, 'tis in a great Part owing to the Conscience of the perpetual Obligation of the National Covenant, that our Divisions are so few. I am sure also, that the most serious and religions Part of the Nation think that they, by their Forefathers, took the Covenant in the Year 1580, (i. e.) 68

68 *Remarks on the first Letter.*

Years sooner than he imagines, and I'm of the Mind they took it in the Year 1557, that is 170 Years since.

His Answer to the 18th Query is a long Libertine Cant, not deserving a Reply, and, against the Wickedness and Folly of which, we have had in *Scotland* a standing glorious Testimony since the happy Revolution; when our Princes have possessed their just Authority and Greatness, the Church her just Rights, and the People true Christian Liberty; and were the Obligation of the Covenant better known, and more conscientiously regarded, there would be a proportionable Increase of true Religion and Piety. His Story about King *Charles II.* is insipid; for, 'tis plain, that such a venerable Body, as the Assembly of this National Church, could never be in such Danger of giving up the Liberties of the People to the Appetite of a Tyrant, as Fourteen Bishops are.

I cannot spend Time in Reply to his Answer to the 19th Query. On that to the 20 I remark, 1st, That 'tis very like he's a Presbyterian Minister, and I am sorry at it. 2. That on the Matter he is an Apostate, and glories in it. 3. That he's the most uncharitable Wretch I have Occasion to consider of, for what he says amounts to this,
That

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That no honest Man was ever a Covenantanter; and if the Church should again make it a Term of Communion, they would understand themselves to be Knaves, and suffer none, but such as they design'd should be Knaves, to come into Church Communion with them.

He is so choak'd with the 22d and 23d Queries, and some Regard to his Reputation, that he can't breathe as ordinarily, nor speak so intelligibly to me as I can make any Reply; only he does well to neglect the Glory of the Sufferers for Religion, for if he should suffer for his, his Memory would be very unfavoury: Beside, being out of Breath, he has forgot that the glorious Stand made by our worthy Ancestors, was on the Footing of their Covenant with God, and Association among themselves for that very Purpose.

When you shall read the Author's Answer to the 24th Query, you will see it wants no Reply; the Author is very unconcerned about giving Offence, and very uncharitable to a vast Number of Ministers and People in *Scotland*; but when he brings them all to Mr. F-----A-----d's Temper, it seems he'll be in a better Humour.

On his Answer to the 25th and 26th Queries, I remark it is all Banter, and what Way rejecting the Covenants on which our

70 *Remarks on the second Letter.*

Ancestors proceeded, and were so signally blessed of God; is the Way to defend the warrantableness of the Reformation, is what I cannot conceive, nor I think any other Mortal except himself; and as little what good his Reveries against the National Covenant can intend. To make Division and raise a Flame, which is the natural Tendency of his Letters, is what he will not own; he cannot hinder me from thinking that he acts a Part much like *Erostratus* when he burnt the Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*.

Whoever the Author is I know not, and who is meant by Mr. G-----s that dar'd not answer the Queries it matters not; for, to the Grief of the godly, both Ministers and People, scandalous Principles are spread in these scurrilous Letters handed about, and I wish the Lord may put a Stop to them.

Remarks on a second Letter to the Reverend Mr. Adams.

The Author complains, That in the National Covenant, (he should have said the general Bond annex'd to it) that there is Reference made to several Acts of Parliament; which evidences, that it contains an Obligation to use Force and Persecution against all its Opposers ----- In Reply to which

Remarks on the second Letter. 71

which, I would have it remarked, (1.) That in the whole Tract of that Affair, one that faithfully observes the Tenor of the Covenant and general Bond thereto annex'd, the restless Temper of the Enemies of the Reformation, as appears from the History of these Times, will easily see, that the entire Management was no more then defensive of the Reformation than attain'd; tho' it seems the Author has a strange Notion of a just and necessary Defence, which he will never allow to be warrantable at a convenient Distance, nor till it be quite useles. (2) He falls into a Burlesque in Writing Treason against the Legislature, grieving the Spirits of the Godly, reproaching the Claim of Right, disgracing the greatest Defence of the Nation against Popery and Arbitrary Power in the Business of the Coronation Oath, *like these filthy Dreamers that despise Dominion, and speak evil of Dignities*, Jud. 8.

It would swell this Postscript to follow the several Turnings and Windings of this scurrilous Letter in the Process of it, particularly with Respect to the Government of King *Charles I.* and the Courses of that Time. 'Tis very plain, that by aspiring after an absolute despotick Government in the State, by the Influence of bad Counsels, by his Unconcernedness for the *Irish*

Massacre, in which, within the Commencement of a few Days, upwards of 200000 Protestants were kill'd in cold Blood, his breaking in upon the Constitution of the *English* Government, by the Instigation of the Earl of *Stafford*, Archbishop *Laud*, &c. altering the Situation of the Communion Tables, licensing Sports on the Lord's Day, levying Ship-Money, &c. he gave an universal Disgust to the Subjects of both Nations: And yet after all, the Presbyterians every where excused him, laid the Blame on his evil Counsellors, did all within the Reach of their Power (consistent with the Preservation of their Religion) to protect his Sacred Person while in Danger by *Cromwel* and the *English* Sectaries, regrated his Death; and exerted themselves to the utmost for the Restauration of his Son. 'Twas impossible in these Times, now is, and I think, will be to the End of the World, for any Government to preserve external Order, and keep different Sects from devouring one another, without giving the Ascendant to one, and so constituting a National Religion by Authority, whatever Indulgence may be given to others. 'Tis so in the united Provinces, so often objected to us for Liberty in Religion; and it is ridiculous to say our present gracious Sovereign

Remarks on the second Letter. 73

reign, and our other Princes since the Revolution, extended their Office only to Civil Concerns ; for they have always bestowed their Royal Favour, particularly for the Maintenance of the established Church. His Ridicule about *Joshua* and the Congregation of *Israel*, their going in and out at the Word of *Eleazar* the Priest; *David's* making the Testimonies of the Lord his Counsellors, &c. and his speaking of believing in the General Assembly ; are really so insipid, as to answer them, would declare a Man a greater Fool than the Author. The Sentiments of the Church of *Scotland* about interpreting Scripture, and believing the Truths therein contain'd on the Authority of God, are so well known, that no Reply needs be given to what's said in the 3d Paragraph ; Where did ever an Assembly of the Church of *Scotland* pretend to a Magisterial and Infallible interpreting of Scripture ?

The Replyer agrees with the 4th Paragraph *in omnibus*, but reclaims against his Application in the 5th: For 'tis plain from the Acts of the General Assemblies and the Histories of these Times, That the Church, in her solemn Acknowledgements of Sins and Breaches of Covenant, and Injunctions for reclaiming Papists, Apostates, Malignants

nants and Incendiaries, us'd all Gospel Methods ; nor were any delivered over to Satan and then into the Hands of the Civil Magistrate, but such as by traiterous Practices, and open Rebellion, attempted to overthrow the Constitution ; and the prohibiting of and searching for erroneous Books, and such as tended further to inflame the Nation, was as much Duty as this or any other Government's searching for inlisting Soldiers, and importing Arms for the Pretender.

Not to follow the Author's Reveries in the 6th Section, 'tis well known that our Reformers, and the Presbyterian Church always afterward, took special Care to have the Scriptures (which was denied to their Ancestors in Popery) read and explained to the People, which, on the Testimony almost of every Man, except this singular Author, made People of all Ranks grow in Knowledge in the Matters of Religion to a Wonder, especially when Order was, by the Authority of the Church, exactly observed. I acknowledge that a Man's professing Religion only on the Authority of Men, is little better than having no Religion at all ; but Mens complying with the wholesome Injunctions of a Church and Laws of a Nation, for Conscience Sake

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to attend the Preaching of the Gospel, Diets of Catechising and Religious Conference, may be, and often is blessed of God, to make Men truly Religious, which procures a just Respect on Gospel Principles from the Christian People to Gospel Ministers, who never affect a Dominion over their Faith.

The 7 Par. is the most prodigious affronting of Reason, Scripture and common Sense that ever was written; and if I may be permitted to make a Conjecture of the Author's Design, I think, Providence has permitted that he should appear a pure Original, for his Like never cast up in the World hitherto: What are the reveal'd Designs of Providence in permitting Heresies and Divisions, to make the Truth be the better understood? I had always before understood the Design to have been, *That they which are approved may be made manifest.* 1. Cor. II. 19. *That Wo belonged to the Man by whom the Offence cometh.* Math. 18. 7. &c. and that the Apostles Rule, Rom. 16. 17. had been of perpetual Authority. *Now I beseech you, Brethren, mark them which cause Divisions and Offences, contrary to the Doctrine which ye have learned; and avoid them.* What was the proper Effect of Uniformity in the blessed Days of David, Hezekiah,

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zekiah, Josiah, and other good Kings of *Israel*, Ignorance? The Ignorance of the Clergy and People of *Spain* and *Italy*, &c. more then in sundry Provinces in *Germany*, flows not from the Uniformity of the one, or Divisions of the other, but from the wrong Principles and Ignorance of the Sacred Scriptures in the former: For I verily think, on the Principles taught the *Spaniards* and *Italians*, they know better when to tell their Beads and say their *Ave Maria's*, than most of our People do how to perform Family and Secret Worship; and the Ignorance of the People of *England* flow'd not from the precise Uniformity, but from corrupt Principles and other obvious Causes: And I apprehend, that the delivering over this Church, on the Principles of the *National Covenant*, into the Hands of some infallible *Junto* and universal Superintendant, and the frightful Consequences mentioned in that Paragraph, had been the last Thing in the World to be fear'd.

What appears to be a Mercy to him (in the 8th Paragraph) namely all the Misery we suffer'd after the Restauration, was, I'm sure, a Grief to many precious Souls, whose Sufferings on the Footing of a covenanted Work of Reformation, is the formal Reason why he and I possess such Worldly

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Accommodations for the Sake of the Gospel, and an open Door to preach it. I'm sure I am better satisfy'd in the present mild Administration than he, and never open'd my Mouth in the least, to disgrace the Constitution as he on every other Turn does in these Letters, and yet cannot with him glory in the present Toleration so much abus'd by Persons disaffected to the Government; and for my Part, they are not above the Number of 3 or 4 in the Ministry, I have Ground to suspect, that give into his unbounded Principles of Liberty; and I believe his uncharitable Suspicion of gloomy Spirits among us, who practise Persecution in Theory, is very ill founded.

Unless I should have betrayed the Truth, I could not have wav'd calling the Author Names, but have easily forborn Jest; for, as my Spirit is weight'd with the Matter, so I have no Faculty that Way. I hope the Reader will see I have gone into the Merits of the Cause, and prov'd that the *National Covenant*, in the sundry Shapes wherein it hath appeared in this Church, is very consistent with the Gospel, with the Principles of the Reformation, very effectively contributing to the Safety of the State, diametrically opposite to the licentious Power and Pride of Church-Men; and
that

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that the People by believing the same, believe not Contradictions. And here I take the Opportunity to refer the Reader, and particularly the Author of these Letters, to a Story of the *National Covenant* of this Church, of greater Antiquity than every one imagines, noted by Archbishop *Spotiswood* in the Year 500, to this Purpose. ‘ King ‘ *Congallus*, after a little while sickning, ‘ sent *Columba* (a Church Man) into *Ireland* to bring home *Aidanus* the right ‘ Heir of the Kingdom; but e’er he returned, the King was dead, and *Kinnatellus* ‘ possessed of the Crown, and the good ‘ Man debating much with himself, determined at last to bring home the said *Aidanus*, whom *Kinnatellus* received kindly, ‘ after whose Death *Aidanus* was crowned; ‘ and *Columba* performing the Ceremonies, ‘ exhorted the King to the Love of Justice, ‘ the Nobles to the Observance of Peace, ‘ and them all to Constancy in the Christian Profession; with which all the Assembly ‘ comply’d by solemn Oath. And to conclude, I heartily pray, that by the Blessing of God on this and other Means, the Author may become as zealous a Covenanter as my self.

Sir,

Yours, &c.

N. B.

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N. B. I have the Acts of the Assembly from 1638, to 1649 inclusive, and yet am of Opinion, you the Author are quite mistaken in your Matters.

Remarks on a third Letter to the Reverend Mr. Adams.

The Letter is exceedingly injurious to the sovereignty of God, all revealed Religion, and the Intendment of the *Aaronical* Priesthood and Institutions, which design'd to prefigure the Messiah his Incarnation, Passion, &c. and the spirituality of the Gospel Church, when it says, that was incorporated with the Civil Constitution of the *Jewish* Nation, and made a Condition of their possessing the Land : For in *Genesis* 17. 1.-----15. *Abraham's* Right and that of his Posterity to that Land was fully settled on *his* and *their* being *circumcised*, and *walking before God and being perfect* ; and after his Posterity had the Moral Law promulgate to them from Mount *Sinai*, most of their Judicial Laws and Ecclesiastical ones too settled on the Principles of *Abraham's* Covenant with God. About two Years after their coming out of *Egypt*, when their Right was consummate, they were ordered to go up and take Possession of the Land;
and

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and yet for their not adhering to God's Covenant, were forced for the Space of 38 Years, to wander through a vast Wilderness on the East Side of the River *Jordan*, when a great many of their Judicial and Ceremonial Constitutions, tho' sam'd on the Principles of *Abraham's* Covenant, took Rise from their Crimes and Scandals; so that to say the Right to that Land was suspended on the entire Body of their Laws, as standing in the *Pentateuch*, is wrong, and of dangerous Consequence; for had they been meek and submissive, their Yoke had not been made so heavy. I acknowledge that God made excellent Use of the Laws occasioned by their Sins, as Representations of good things to come; but for the Letter to say, that the Ceremonial Law was only a Political Religion, is very unaccountable: 'Tis true it was design'd to keep the Seed of *Israel* unmix'd with other Nations, that the Genealogy of the Messiah might be without Exception; but we know, that the *Israelitish* Servants bought with their Money, and Strangers that joyned them were subjected to it, either as Profelytes of the Gate or of the Covenant, that there might be an Uniformity in the Church. And the Distinction the Author makes between that Political Religion, as he calls it, and another

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ther Religion will not answer his Purpose : For all that know any Thing of Religion understand, that outward Observance of its Rites, and true Grace, are quite different Things, the last of which never did, nor can come under the Cognizance of Mortals, so as to inflict Punishments or bestow Rewards ; yet that can't hinder enjoying Conformity to an unquestionable Frame of Religion in the external Observances of it.

To infer from all that he had said, That the Nature of the *Jewish* Covenants was such as he represents, That *Josiah's* Reformation intended no more than a Compliance with the political Interests and Constitutions of that Nation, is at once a horrid Impiety against God, and a brutal Ignorance of the Situation of the *Jewish* Affairs at that Time. The long Contention between the Kings of *Egypt* and *Babylon*, which then was at the highest, should have led *Josiah* and his Council, had they proceeded on Principles of Policy, to quite other Measures than so openly and avowedly to destroy the Religion both these Nations were fond of; especially seeing his Country lay between their Empires, and the *Jews* almost always obliged to join with the one or the

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the other: No, that righteous and religious Prince intended by his Reformation, and renewing the Covenant with *Israel's* God, to obey the divine Command, that in that Way, God might bestow Grace on his People, and that he might maintain the Church and Nation against *Pharaoh Necho*, who then was carrying on his Wars against the King of *Babylon*, with whom *Josiah* was Confederate.

The Reflections the Letter makes on 2 *Chron.* 34. 31, 32, 33. are extremely senseless: For, 'tis plain the Intendment of that Covenant and Reformation was a Compliance with the Law of the Lord, and in that Way to expect the divine Grace and Favour; and that People serving God all the Days of *Josiah*, intends no more than the outward Serving of God in the Rites of Religion. But I hope, in that Way, there was more Ground to expect the divine Grace, to make Men truly Religious, than in the licentious and idolatrous Reign of *Manasseh*.

The Story of King *Asa's* Covenant, introduced on the Back of the other, and the Inferences drawn therefrom, I could not read without a Blush, and am ashamed to take up Time on it; only I must remark (1.) That all Mortals hitherto, except
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absolute Atheists, who deny the Being of God, have agreed to that general Law, That every Man ought to be punished that will not seek him ; and that they should seek him with all their Hearts : And if it should be absolutely certain, that a Man professing to do it, does but mock when he pretends to worship, I am sure that, by all the Laws against Atheism, he ought to be punished : But, these Censures and Penalties being concerned in Things only that appear, the Searching of the Heart must be left to God : And, if the Author shall own the Scriptures according to their genuine Sense expressed in the Confession of Faith, (which, I presume, he has again and again subscribed) and live regularly in his Station, I shall always say, he seeks the Lord God of *Israel* with all his Heart and Soul ; and if, notwithstanding, he shall be really a Hypocrite, I shall leave it to God to punish him, and my Hand shall not be upon him. (2.) I remark, that the People were required to be truly religious, *i. e.* to have Grace, and exercise it, and they undertook it : But the Penalty threatened respected no more than their external Behaviour, which might declare the quite Contrary of their Profession and Engagements. (3.) I wonder what Thoughts the

Author has of Engagements taken by Sponsors at the Baptism of Infants. Are not these really Covenants? Are they not Engagements to seek the Lord God of their Fathers with all their Hearts? And yet all the Penalties, so far as Men are concern'd, respect their external Behaviour. The Reflection the Author makes here, is but a Snare to catch the Ignorant: For, whatever be the real State of a Man, with Respect to Grace, no Penalties were ever intended against any that liv'd regularly according to God's Word, either in the *Israelitish* Church or the Christian; and that no more was there promised to the *Israelites*, and actually given them, than external Rest, is false: For an Increase of Grace and future Glory was promised to the godly among them; and in that Way Grace was promised to others that honestly sought it. 'Tis a Wonder the Author's virulent Pen let these Words drop from it, That that Covenant only bound them to be hearty in the external Service of God; for, if a Man be hearty in the external Service of God, I must think he is truly religious.

Hezekiah's Covenant is also brought in, and the Design of it (to turn away the Wrath of God from that Nation) explain'd into no
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more than to have a Relation to the external *Jewish* Law, and the averting of a temporal Punishment, and that the Former, his and *Ezra's* Covenants, were no more than Civil Acts of Indemnity for former Breaches of the sacred Laws of the great God: When I read *Deut.* 27. 26. *Gal.* 3. 10. and other such Scriptures, and compare them with the Words in the Letters, I'm shock'd to the last Degree. What! were all the Crimes, Enormities and atrocious Wickedness of the People of *Israel* and *Judah*, during the Reigns of their Idolatrous Kings, no more than a Breaking in on the Civil Constitution, and their solemn renewing Covenant in the Periods refer'd to, no more than their accepting an Indemnity from their religious Princes.

The Author having laid down and made sure, as he thinks, his Principles, which I'm sure are the most pernicious that ever were, goes on to infer, That nothing of the *Jewish* Reformations, and their renewing their Covenants with God, may be lawfully imitated by Christians, with Respect to their Religion.-----On which, I remark (1.) That whatever God's secret Purpose, which doth not concern us, was, I'm sure he never made any Declarations against other Nations coming in-

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into that Religion; but, on the Contrary, that all who would submit to the Constitutions of it, should be welcome. As to the Laws against marrying with other Nations, these had a peculiar View; and *Nehemiah's* forbidding his ill-designing Neighbours to assist him in his Buildings, doth not alter the Case neither. (2.) It hath been hitherto, according to Scripture, a current Principle, That religious Magistrates are Keepers of both the Tables of the Law; and tho' Christ's Kingdom be not of this World, *i. e.* tho' his Dispen-sations of Grace, and his Rewards and Punishments, mainly respect the other World; yet that hinders not, but that Magistrates, especially if they are Christian, may be Ministers for Good, *Rom. 13. 19.* Is it an Act of Violence in a Civil Magistrate to command, even upon Penalties, that his Subjects read God's Word, pray to him; That in all their Ways they acknowledge him; that they attend wholesome Instruction, &c.? Was it an Act of Violence in *Abraham*, even before the *Israelitish* Oeconomy was fully settled, to command his Children and Servants to know the Way of the Lord? Was it an Act of Violence in *Artaxerxes*, tho' not embody'd in that Church, to order *Ezra*

7. 23. That whatever was commanded by the God of Heaven, should be done diligently for the House of the God of Heaven. (3.) When the covenanted Reformation was in greatest Credit in Britain and Ireland, there were comfortable Traces of Religion that increased, till *Oliver Cromwell's* Usurpation began in the State, and a boundless Liberty, like that the Author pleads for, broke in upon the Church; which at last made Way for Tyranny and Prelacy, which, we all know, brought Ignorance along with it. (4.) Tho' it is not warrantable to banish, burn, or hang a Man for want of Grace; yet, it is very lawful to punish him for *Atheism*, *Socinianism*, prophaning the Lord's-Day, Drunkenness, &c. according to the Demerits of his Crimes. (5.) It is strange the Author cants over and over, That the *Jews* had temporal Promises annexed to their Obedience, such as the Possession of the Land of *Canaan*.-----Do not all honest Christians know, that under that Shadow Heaven was intended. (6.) I acknowledge, that the Believers among the *Jews* never dream'd, that Grace could be communicate by external Laws and Penalties: But, I believe, that thro' Faith, they expected Grace and Glory in the Way of Conformity

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ty to the reveal'd Constitutions of Religion among them : And, I'm sure, a wise *Scots* Covenanter had never other Sort of Thoughts. (7.) The Religion of the *Jews*, as to the Grace and Spirituality of it, was just the same with the Christian, only, we have more Spirit and fewer Ordinances ; which justly gives the Names of *Carnal* to theirs, and *Spiritual* to ours, but does not alter the Nature of the Thing ; and so does not hinder Christians from Covenanting with God on the same Grounds.

The Design of the *National Covenant* in *Scotland* was never to establish a *National Religion*, but to establish the Religion of Jesus Christ in the Nation ; and as soon as they were capable, they propagate that Reformation as far as they could, wrote to all the reformed Churches abroad, desiring the nearest Union with them ; and I believe, were it in their Power, they would by Gospel-methods, spread the same into all the Nations and Corners of the Earth ; so far are they from fencing themselves from Communion with other Nations in their Religion. His Burlesque on the Reformation, and the Instruments of it, follows indeed from his pernicious Principles, but these being naught, the other wants no Remark ; only
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'tis a Wonder to see any Man write anent Religion, and so far out of his Wits, as still to forget the Word of God, the Foundation of it; thence it is, he can see no Odds between the Reformation made by our Ancestors and Popery:

That the *National Covenant* is popular among well-meaning Christians I acknowledge, and that it was necessary for beginning and carrying on the Reformation, is, from what hath been above-said, very plain, notwithstanding all his Considerations on the the Contrary.

On the *First* of which, I remark (1.) That the Reformation did actually consist with a Covenanting thereabout. (2.) All other Mortals, except the Author, can easily see, That our Ancestors engaging to God to reform, and to assist one another therein, are very consistent with all the Rules of Religion and Prudence.

On his *Second* Consideration, I remark, That our Fore-fathers never intended, that the formal Ground of their Profession, or of the Power of the Church, should be humane Laws, but the Authority of God reveal'd in the Scriptures; and why may not human Laws require Men to keep the Lord's-Day, read the Scriptures, abstain from Adultery, &c. as well as *Josiah* com-

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manded his People to seek the Lord God of their Fathers, observe the Law of Moses, &c.

'Tis strange, That in his *third* Consideration, he should say, *If Men in Power have a Right to establish Religion by National Covenants and Laws, there will be an End of all Reformation, &c.* For, if Men in Power shall establish Religion by the Laws, or Covenants agreeable to the Word of God, (which he neglects all along in his Letter) what should hinder such Reformation to go on? It seems he is little acquainted with the History of the Reformation of this Church, when he says, *That every Step taken in it condemns it self*; and charges our Reformers with the Guilt of Rebellion. Our noble Ancestors, in that Work, observ'd a greater Submission than the *French, Dutch, Germans, Swedes, Helvetians, Silesians, Bohemians, Hungarians, &c.* did in theirs: But, it seems, it is no great Matter to him, with one Dash of his Pen, to condemn almost all the Reformed Churches in *Europe*.

In his *fourth* Consideration, he has a strange Notion, as if it were unwarrantable for Men to enquire after Truth, or practise any Duty conform to it, unless it should first arise from Rulers; which
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has not been the Way of Providence in any Nation of *Europe*, except *England* and *Denmark*: And if the envious Author will not allow the Lawfulness of our Reformers Covenanting for Reformation, yet he may at least allow it, for preserving the Reformation attain'd. Which in the *Fifth* Consideration he seems to grant under the Name of a *Covenant*, provided it import no more than a Civil Association; and he is mistaken about the Covenants or Bonds enter'd into by our Reformers before the Year 1560, for they consist in a solemn Vow to God to promote the Reformation of Religion, as well as a Com-promise to stand by one another in doing it.

All that I remark on the confus'd Post-script of that Letter is, That factious and four spirited Men, and Parties, like the Author and his Accomplices, having cast up in the several Ages and Periods of the Church, made it necessary for her, from Time to Time, to form many and very particular Confessions of Faith; and consenting to them by Oath or Subscription, reaches one great Design of Church-covenanting: And if an Obligation by Oath or Subscription, to stand by one another in Maintenance of the present Confession of the Church of *Scotland*, and the Protestant

restant Succession, in the Defence of the *Evangel*, and a sincere Resolve to follow Holiness, might be peaceably obtain'd, it would be all I plead for; and that, I'm sure, the Author is heartily against. This is what all honest Men earnestly pray for, and many hope the Lord will sooner or later grant such a Time of Refreshing from his Presence.

And to conclude, the Principles laid down in these Letters, at once condemn all the Wars that have hitherto been in the wide World, in Defence of the Orthodox Faith of the Protestant Religion in *Europe*, since the blessed Reformation from Popery, as well as Covenants and Associations therefore. I wonder what Conceptions he must have of *Constantin's* Wars against *Licinius*, &c. of the Protestant Princes of *Germany* against *Charles V.* of Queen *Elizabeth* who assisted all her Neighbours in Defence of the Protestant Religion, the Wars of *Gustavus Adolphus*, &c. For, I'm perswaded, it is but a Trifle with him, to condemn his poor Country-men in the sundry Steps they have taken, at and since the Reformation; and particularly, in bringing about the glorious Revolution in the Year 1688, and contributing what they could ever since, to maintain the Wars in *Europe* for the Defence of it.

F I N I S.